

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 135910

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 135910

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 4351 ACTION SECSTATE JUN 11.

QUOTE: S E C R E T GENEVA 4351

NODIS

DPEARTMENT PASS TO AMEMBASSIES BONN, LONDON AND PARIS FOR
THE AMBASSADOR

SUGGEST DEPARTMENT ALSO PASS TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW, SECDEF AND
US MISSION NATO

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVER CBM

1. SUMMARY US AND UK REPORTED TO ALLIED CAUCUS THAT SOVIETS
HAD MADE NEW FORMAL OFFER OF 250 KMS, 30,000 TROOPS AND 18 DAYS
IN PRIVATE CONTACTS IN WASHINGTON AND IN GENEVA. WE SAID THAT
US FOUND SOVIET AREA CONCESSION SIGNIFICANT AND COULD ACCEPT
THESE NEW FIGURES BUT THAT WE WERE SIMPLY CONVEYING FIGURES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 135910

FOR ALLIED CONSIDERATION. UK AND ALL OTHERS FOUND FIGURES

POLITICALLY UNSTATISFACTORY AND OPPOSED ALLIED ACCEPTANCE.
CHIEFS OF ALLIED DELS AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT OPPOSE
NEUTRAL TABLING OF PROPOSED COMPROMISE OF 300 KMS, 25,000
MEN, AND
21 DAYS, BUT SOVIETS ARE EXERTING HEAVY PRESSURE TO
PREVENT THIS. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING SEPARATE ALLIED CAUCUS MEETINGS OF CHIEFS OF
DELEGATIONS AND ALLIED CBM REPS ON JUNE 10, US AND UK
REPS REPORTED THAT SOVIETS HAD MADE FORMAL APPROACH WITH
NEW OFFER OF 250 KMS, 30,000 TROOPS AND 18 DAYS. WE SAID
THAT US IMPRESSION OF VIEWS OF ALLIES AT HIGH LEVEL HAD
BEEN THAT AREA WAS MOST IMPROTANT CRITERION, AND THAT
SIGNIFICANT SOVIET CONCESSION ON AREA SHOULD BE GIVEN DUE
WEIGHT. WE SAID SOVIETS HAD BEEN INFORMED IN WASHINGTON
THAT NEW OFFER WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US, BUT THAT WE
WERE REALLY ONLY CONVEYING NEW FIGURES TO ALLIES FOR THEIR
REACTIONS. IF THESE REACTIONS WERE NEGATIVE, WE SAID WE
WOULD TELL THE SOVIETS THAT FIGURES DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH TO
GAIN ALLIED ACCEPTANCE. UK REPS SAID THEY HAD RECEIVED
OFFER FROM SOVIET MINISTER KOVALEV IN GENEVA ON JUNE 9, AND
HAD REPLIED THAT THEY DID NOT CONSIDER IT SUFFICIENT BASIS
FOR CONFERENCE CONSENSUS.

3. ALL OTHER REPS IN ALLIED CAUCUS ECHOED VIEW OF UK. ON
AREA SEVERAL REPS OBSERVED THAT FIGURE OF 300 KMS HAD BEEN
GIVEN TO THEM BY THEIR MINISTERS AS A FINAL POSITION. IT
WAS POINTED OUT THAT 300 KMS COULD BE JUSTIFIED IN PUBLIC
PRESENTATION AS AN "OBJECTIVE" CRITERION, SINCE THIS DISTANCE
DRAWN FROM FRONTIERS WOULD ENTIRELY COVER TERRITORY OF OTHER
EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS, AND SOVIETS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO
ACCEPT "EQUAL" APPLICATION OF CBM MEASURE IN THEIR
TERRITORY. FINALLY, CAUCUS REPS NOTED THAT 300 KMS FIGURE
HAD BEEN TABLED BY THE NEUTRAL COORDINATOR OF CBM SUBCOMMITTEE
ON JUNE 6, AND THAT NEITHER EASTERN NOR WESTERN REPS HAD
REJECTED IT. MOST REPS SPOKE ON PERSONAL BASIS, BUT FRG REP MADE
POINTS ON BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM BONN ON
JUNE 10.

4. ON THRESHOLD, EFFECT OF US STATEMENT WAS TO LOOSEN
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PAGE 03 STATE 135910

UP SEVERAL ALLIES, WHO HAD BEEN INSISTING UPON THRESHOLD
BELOW 20,000. HOWEVER, CONSENSUS OF CAUCUS WAS THAT FIGURE
AS HIGH AS 30,000 WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FROM
POLITICAL STANDPOINT, NOT ONLY BECAUSE SOVIETS HAD BEEN
TOLD THEY WOULD NEED TO MOVE FROM VIENNA FIGURES ON
BOTH AREA AND THRESHOLD, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THRESHOLD
AT THIS LEVEL WOULD EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDE MOST CSCE STATES
FROM PARTICIPATION IN OBLIGATORY EXCHANGES OF NOTIFICATION.

5. FRENCH REP SAID NEW US POSITION COMPLICATED SITUATION IN WHICH EARLY AGREEMENT HAD APPEARED POSSIBLE ON NEUTRAL FIGURES OF 300 KMS, 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS. FRANCE WOULD PROBABLY NOT OBJECT TO END OF STAGE II ON GROUNDS OF CBM PARAMETERS ALONE, BUT HE REGRETTED ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS THAT US HAD INDICATED ACCEPTANCE OF NEW SOVIET FIGURES. FRG AND ITALY MADE SIMILAR POINTS.

6. ALLIES AGREED THAT IT SHOULD QUICKLY BE MADE CLEAR THAT SOVIET OFFER, WHILE ACCEPTABLE TO US, WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS. TO THIS END, CHIEFS OF DELS CONCURRED THAT NEUTRALS SHOULD BE TOLD THAT ALLIES DO NOT OPPOSE FORMALLY INTRODUCING THEIR COMPROMISE FORMULA IN JUNE 11 MEETING OF MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE.

7. SOVIETS ARE EXERTING HEAVY PRESSURE ON NEUTRALS TO PREVENT THIS, AND WE WILL REPORT OUTCOME IN SUBSEQUENT IMMEDIATE CABLE.

8. SUGGEST THIS SUBJECT NOW BE HANDLED AS EXDIS.
DALE UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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